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Some ACCOUNT of the

LIFE,

AND MOST

Remarkable ACTIONS;

OF

GEORGE HENRY

Baron *DE GOERTZ*,

PRIVY-COUNSELLOR

AND

Chief MINISTER of STATE,

TO THE

Late King of *Sweden*.

LONDON:
Printed for T. BICKERTON, at the *Crown*, in *Pater-Noster-Row*. MDCCXIX.

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DE GOERTZ.

THE Houſe of *Holſtein* however known in the World, had ſcarce ever made it ſelf famous ſo many ways in one Age, as in the Reign of the late Duke. The trifling Quarrel between the laſt Duke of *Holſtein*, and the King of *Denmark*, has given riſe to the moſt bloody and many ways fatal War that has infeſted the *North* of *Europe* for many Years paſt.

The Duke of *Holſtein* himſelf, and the King of *Sweden* his Brother-in-Law, both loſt their Lives in this War, and all the Dominions of the Former, as alſo all the *German* Dominions of the Latter, fell into the Hands of their Enemies; Conqueſt and Victory having in the latter Part of it, *as it were*, wholly ſhaken Hands with, and forſaken the King of *Sweden*.

As the King of *Sweden* undertook the War originally, for the Protection of the Duke of *Holſtein*'s Dominions, which were than attack'd by the *Danes*; ſo the Duke of *Holſtein* in Return, joining his Forces with the King of *Sweden*, follow'd the Fortunes of that gallant Prince, and accompanying his *Swediſh* Majeſty into *Poland*, loſt his Life in his Service, being kill'd with a Musket-Shot at the great Battle at *Liſzaw*, near *Cracow*, in the Year 1702.

The Duke had marry'd the eldeſt Daughter of *Sweden*, Siſter to his *Swediſh* Majeſty, and Daughter to *Charles* the Eleventh King of *Sweden*, by whom he had one Son, *viz.* The preſent Duke of *Holſtein*, who being in the Proceſs of this War outed of his Dominions by the King of *Denmark*, was entertain'd in the *Swediſh* Court, under the Tutelage and Protection of the King of *Sweden* his Uncle, having for his Preceptor or Governor the Count *Vandernath*, and for his Firſt Miniſter and Privy Counſellor *George Henry De Goertz*, the Perſon of whom we are now to enquire, his other Intereſts in his Minority being manag'd by the Duke Adminiſtrator of *Holſtein*, his Father's Brother, at that Time Biſhop of *Eutin*.

As the Dominions of *Holſtein* were thus under the Protection of *Sweden*, and as the Prince had loſt his Life in the Service of the King of *Sweden*, his *Swediſh* Majeſty could not but have the kindeſt Sentiments for all the Subjects and Servants of his deceaſed Brother and Ally; and that truly magnanimous Prince fail'd not to ſhow his Gratitude in that kind on all Occaſions, as his Service preſented an Opportunity.

Among all the Nobility of *Holſtein* who the King of *Sweden* entertain'd in his Service, none appear'd ſo agreeable to his *Swediſh* Majeſty, ſo capable for great Undertakings, and in particular for Negociations of the niceſt Nature, and of the greateſt Difficulty, as the *Baron*, whoſe Life I am now writing; and this made the King of *Sweden*, who was as perfect a Judge of the Men he employ'd as moſt Princes ever were, ſingle him out for the moſt important Truſts, communicate to him his moſt ſecret Councils,

and

and firſt or laſt, engage him in Matters of the greateſt Conſequence in his Kingdom; not only relating to Alliances, Peace and War, and the like, but even in the Civil Adminiſtration of his Government, his Treaſury, the Commerce of his Subjects, the Execution of Treaties Abroad, and of Juſtice at Home; and in a Word, he became eſpecially in the latter Part of his Majeſty's Life, not only his particular Favourite, but even his Prime Miniſter in the great Tranſactions of War, Peace, Trade, and Government.

On this Account, let the States and People of *Sweden* talk what they pleaſe of the glorious Deeds of their late King; their Zeal and Affection to him, and Veneration for his Memory, their Uſage of the Baron *Goertz*, I mean the common People in Particular, will ever paſs with me for a Teſtimony of the utmoſt popular Rage and Reſentment, even againſt the general Conduct, as well as of a Contempt of the Perſon of their deceaſed Sovereign, and that of the groſſeſt Kind they were capable of ſhewing; I ſay, it will paſs for ſuch in my Opinion; others may think as they pleaſe, and they may put what fair Gloſſes they pleaſe upon it.

It is not my Deſign here to enter into an Account of Baron *Goertz* his Life, or his Conduct in the private Part of it, or indeed, in the Military Part of it, before he came into that Part of Action which relates to Civil Affairs; it is true, we read of him commanding a Regiment of Horſe in *Pomerania*, and we read of him on ſeveral Occaſions in the Army; but as this would lead us neceſſarily into the Hiſtorical Part of the King of *Sweden*'s Wars, which it is not our preſent Buſineſs to meddle with, I think it needleſs to mention it.

The firſt Time we meet with the *Baron* in Publick, ſeems to be when the King of *Sweden* being in the Dominions of the *Turks*, his *Swediſh* Majeſty ſent for the *Baron* to conſult with him on the State of his private Affairs, and perhaps of his Return to his Dominions, when the *Baron* did his Majeſty a ſingular

piece of Service, *viz.* Of negociating a very conſiderable Sum of Money for his Supply, and obtaining Letters of Credit for the Payment of it at *Conſtantinople*, by which his *Swediſh* Majeſty was enabled to maintain his Intereſt in the *Grand Seignior*'s Court, and to have his Enemies, particularly the *Baſſa* of *Bender*, cut off, and the *Cham* of *Tartary* diſgrac'd; and in a Word, by the Means of this Aſſiſtance the King of *Sweden* was principally ſupported, and enabled to ſubſiſt his numerous Attendants of Officers and Servants, and to bring themſelves off from a Country where they began to ſee themſelves in Danger of being in a Condition neither to ſtay or to remove.

It is not to be wondred, if a Prince of ſo great a Spirit and Penetration as the King of *Sweden*, found Reaſon to eſteem the Services of a Man who had thus effectually ſerv'd him in Circumſtances from which his Majeſty had Difficulty enough to extricate himſelf; and if the King employ'd him afterwards in Matters of the like Nicety, as well in *France* as elſewhere, it is no leſs for the Honour of the *Baron*'s Memory, than for a Teſtimony of the Judgment and Wiſdom of the King of *Sweden*.

His Negociations in *France*, of ſeveral Kinds, had perhaps been much better known, had not the great King of *France*, *Lewis* the Fourteenth been taken off; but the great Supplies which the King of *Sweden* obtain'd from *France*, even at a Time when *France* could ill part with Money, and when *Sweden* wanted it ſo much, are a farther Teſtimony of his Fidelity, and of the Dexterity of his Conduct, though the Particulars of thoſe Negociations, as I have obſerv'd, are not come to Hand.

His Enemies tax'd him with being the chief Manager of the ſubtil Treaty of old Count *Steinbock*, with the Governour of the Fortreſs of *Toninghen*, which ſo effectually ſurpriz'd all *Europe*, and deliver'd the *Swediſh* Army from being cut in Pieces by the *Danes*, *Saxons* and *Muſcovites*; and though it is true, that they were oblig'd at laſt to yield to the *Danes*, yet it was not only long after, but upon Terms much more Diſ-

advantageous

advantageous to the Enemy, after putting them to infinite Expence and Fatigue for a Blockade of a whole Army ſeveral Months together.

It is true, this Action was that which gave a finiſhing Blow to the Duke of *Holſtein*'s Misfortunes, and gave the King of *Denmark* a Handle to ſeize on the reſt of the Dutchy of *Holſtein* and *Sleſwich*; becauſe as was pretended, it appear'd by Papers ſeiz'd in the Fortreſs of *Toninghen*, that the Duke of *Holſtein*'s Miniſters, *viz.* the Baron..... Chancellor, Baron *Goertz*, with the Adminiſtrator himſelf, were concern'd in, and conſenting to admitting the *Swedes* into the Place; whether it was ſo or not we cannot be aſſur'd, Count *Steinboch* dying in his Confinement in the Caſtle of *Copenhagen*.

Upon the King of *Denmark*'s thus ſeizing the Dominions of the Duke, Baron *Goertz* and his Brother were not only diſpoſſeſs'd of their Fortunes, but oblig'd to fly, the Brother taking a different Party, though acting in a lower Sphere, had the milder Fate, taking Sanctuary firſt in the Court of *Heſſe Caſſel*, then in *Pruſſia*, *Hanover*, and other of the Proteſtant Princes Courts in *Germany*, and is at preſent employ'd either in the Court at *Hanover*, or *Saxony*, I know not whether.

But our *Baron* form'd for ſuperior Employments, fill'd with aſpiring Thoughts, capable of puſhing on the greateſt Enterprizes, and having an Intereſt in a Prince as capable of putting them in Execution, follow'd the Fortunes of the King of *Sweden*.

It is true, he came to that Prince, that is to ſay, into his Cabinet, when his Affairs were embarraſs'd, and in their moſt declining Condition, or if you will have it in the Stile of the Times, when his Affairs were thought deſperate; but as it was then that the King had the moſt need of vigorous Councils and able Miniſters, ſo the Temper of the *Baron*, which was indefatigable in Buſineſs, ready in contriving, bold in executing, and above all Diſcouragements, agreed ſo exactly with the King, that now was the Time it might be ſaid the King embrac'd him with a

full

full Confidence and Satisfaction, as well in his Ability, as in his being heartily attach'd to his Interest.

He was first employ'd in *Holland*, where though he did not at all take upon him a Publick Character to the States in particular, yet he was openly known and treated with on all Occasions, as well by the States, as by the Ministers of Foreign Princes, as an Agent of the King of *Sweden*'s Affairs, and as a Person entrusted even beyond the Confidence of an Ambassador; and he rather seem'd to act in all Places where he came as an Instructor of Ambassadors than an Ambassador himself: In this Capacity we find him transacting the most intricate Affairs between the Ambassadors of *Sweden*, at sundry Courts, of which in their Order: To Day we found the *Baron* in *Holland*, to Morrow in *France*, anon in the Court of *Prussia*; now *here*, now *there*, as the King's Affairs requir'd.

It was in that Year, that the King of *Sweden* was threaten'd with a powerful Invasion from the united Forces of the King of *Denmark* and Czar of *Muscovy*; assisted, or at least protected by the Squadrons of Men of War from *England* and *Holland*; so that the united Fleets of four Nations appear'd on the *Swedish* Coasts, and the Czar of *Muscovy*, who was on board, had the Honour of Commanding the only Fleet of sixty Men of War of the Line of Battle, that ever was seen together in the *Baltick*.

Yet even in this Juncture, if we may take our Accounts from good Hands, God and the Baron *Goertz* confounded the Devices of the King of *Sweden*'s Enemies, and such Jealousies and Misunderstandings were infused into their Councils, that the Czar in a little Time declin'd the Enterprize, and refus'd to make any Attempt that Year. The History of that particular Affair, and the Dispute which happened between the Czar of *Muscovy* and the King of *Denmark* are known; the Latter complain'd loudly of being put to immense Charges in Preparations, and in maintaining a great Army and Fleet, as also in hiring and detaining a great Number of Transports at an excessive Expence: The Manifesto of the King of *Denmark* on

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that Subject intimates plainly, that ſome had done ill Offices between his *Daniſh* Majeſty and the Czar of *Muſcovy*; but perhaps they did not, or do not to this Hour know how far the Baron *Goertz* had a ſecret Agency in the Matter, the particular Management of which was perhaps ſcarce known to any one but the Baron and the King of *Sweden*; and as ſome of the Czar's Miniſters have ſince ſuffer'd Diſgrace, as well as his own Son, there are few left that can tell the Tale, if they were willing to make the Diſcovery.

The Service done the King of *Sweden* in this Part, was too great to be forgotten; and the Man who was capable of ſuch a maſterly Stroke, too great to be neglected; it is ſcarce poſſible to conceive without long Reflection upon the Affairs of that Time, what Service to *Sweden*, what Loſs, and even Ruin to the Affairs of the King of *Denmark*, what Diſappointments to the other Allies, and what Surprize to the whole World, the baulking that long digeſted Deſign, was; what immenſe Charge, what Troops drawn together, what Expence in their March or Tranſportation, even from *Muſcovy* one way, and *Norway* another, what Charge to ſubſiſt them, what amaſſing of Forage and Proviſions, Ammunition, Artillery, and all ſorts of Military Stores, to an infinite Quantity, and even to Exceſs, for an Enterprize of ſuch Conſequence; what equipping of Fleets, and hiring Tranſport-Ships for Expedition, which in one Moment came to nothing.

It could not be, that the Czar of *Muſcovy*, a Prince ſo apt for glorious Enterprizes, ſo penetrating in the Nature and Conſequences of every Undertaking, had ſo little conſulted with himſelf, as not to have intended the Thing, when he went ſuch a Length, as to bring his Army to *Copenhagen*, concert the Meaſures, lay in Stores, and bring his Gallies and Men of War to the *Sound*: It would reflect on the Honour of the Czar, to ſuggeſt that he did all this to amuſe and deceive his Ally the King of *Denmark*, and that he had no ſincere Deſign to proſecute ſuch an Enterprize when he engag'd in it.

But if on the other hand, he found Reaſon to think himſelf hurry'd on too faſt by Allies who were not to be reſted upon for the Performance of their Part; if he either ſaw a want of Integrity, or want of Ability, and that the Conſequences might reaſonably be expected, that when he was embark'd, he ſhould not be effectually ſeconded, and might perhaps be left to carry it on at his own Charge, or bring himſelf out as well as he could; he might be well allow'd to ſtop his Hand a-while; it was worth conſidering, that if he muſt bear the Weight of invading *Sweden* upon his own Shoulders, he might do it with leſs Expence, and much leſs Hazard from his own Dominions, where in Caſe of any Exigence, he might be eaſily ſupply'd and reinforc'd, and in Caſe of Miſcarriage, might retreat with Advantage; whereas to make the Attempt in *Schonen*, was to put the Sum of Affairs upon the Conduct of another, which ought to depend upon his own.

I will not ſay any thing diſhonourable of the King of *Denmark* in this Caſe, but this may be ſaid of the Whole, that whoever it was that ſow'd the Seeds of Miſunderſtanding between his *Daniſh* Majeſty and the Czar of *Muſcovy*, if it was juſt, was a Friend to the Czar of *Muſcovy*; and juſt or unjuſt, was a Maſter of his Management, and did the *Swedes* a Service, which the whole Nation ought not to have forgotten; nor in the Sequel perhaps was it a Diſſervice to the Czar himſelf.

However, this was manifeſt, that it made a kind of Interval in the good Underſtanding between the two Powers of *Denmark* and *Muſcovy*, which has never been fill'd up ſince. The King of *Denmark* began and publiſh'd his Diſſatisfaction in a Manifeſto, which was diſpers'd in all the Courts on this Side the World, and publiſh'd in ſeveral Languages; complaining of the Severities and Hardſhips put upon him in the abandoning an Enterprize which had been carry'd on to ſuch a Length. The Manifeſto will plainly ſhew, that not only the *Danes*, but even ſome of the *Muſcovites* themſelves were ignorant of the ſe-

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cret Springs which retarded that Enterprize, ſeeing nothing but the want of Forage in *Schonen* was alledg'd as a Reaſon, which was fully anſwer'd by the King of *Denmark*; and this makes it neceſſary to peruſe the King of *Denmark*'s Manifeſto, to let us ſee how effectually that Court was kept out of the Secret of the Affair: That Manifeſto is as follows;

THERE being no doubt but moſt Courts will be ſurpriz'd that the Deſcent upon Schonen *hath not been put in Execution, notwithſtanding the great Preparations made for that Purpoſe; and that all his* Czariſh *Majeſty's Troops who were in* Germany *were tranſported to* Zealand, *not without great Trouble and Danger, partly by his own Gallies, and partly by his* Daniſh *Majeſty's other Veſſels; and that the ſaid Deſcent is deferr'd till another Time; his* Daniſh *Majeſty hath therefore in order to clear himſelf of all Imputation and Reproach, both now and in future Times, thought fit moſt graciouſly to order that the following true Account of this Affair ſhould be given to all impartial Perſons.*

Since the Swedes *were entirely driven out of their* German *Dominions, there was according to all the Rules of Policy and Reaſons of War, no other way left than vigorouſly to attack the ſtill obſtinate King of* Sweden, *in the very Heart of his Country; thereby with God's Aſſiſtance, to force him to a laſting good and advantageous Peace for the Allies. The King of* Denmark *and his* Czariſh *Majeſty were both of this Opinion, and did in order to put ſo good a Deſign in Execution, agree upon an Interview, which at laſt was held at* Hamhorn *near* Hamburgh, *after his* Daniſh *Majeſty had ſtay'd there ſix Weeks for the* Czar: *In this Conference it was, on the third of* June *agreed, between both their Majeſties, after ſeveral Debates, that the Deſcent upon* Schonen *ſhould poſitively be undertaken this Year, and every Thing relating to the forwarding the ſame was entirely conſented to; hereupon his* Daniſh *Majeſty made all haſt for his Return to his Dominions, and gave Orders to work Day and Night to get his Fleet ready to put to Sea; the Tranſport-Ships were alſo gathered from all Parts of his Dominions, both with unexpreſſible Charge and great Prejudice to his*

Subjects Trade. Thus his Majesty, (as the Czar *himself upon his arrival at* Copenhagen *own'd) did his utmost to provide all Necessaries, and to forward the Descent, upon whose Success every Thing depended. It happened however in the mean while, and before the Descent was agreed upon in the Conference at* Hamhorn, *that his* Danish *Majesty was oblig'd to secure his invaded and much oppressed Kingdom of* Norway, *by sending thither a considerable Squadron out of his Fleet, under the Command of Vice-Admiral* Gabel, *which Squadron could not be recall'd before the Enemy had left that Kingdom, without endangering a great Part thereof; so that out of Necessity the said Vice-Admiral was forced to tarry there till the twelfth of* July, *when his* Danish *Majesty sent him express Orders to return with all possible Speed, Wind and Weather permitting; but this blowing for some Time contrary, his being detain'd, and the Loss of Time, could not be attributed but to Providence, who commands the Winds and the Waves, and therefore the Blame thereof cannot be laid to his* Danish *Majesty.*

The Swedes *were all the while powerful at Sea, and his* Czarish *Majesty himself did not think it advisable that the Remainder of the* Danish *Fleet in Conjunction with the Men of War then at* Copenhagen, *should go to convoy the* Russian *Troops from* Rostock, *before the above-mentioned Squadron under Vice-Admiral* Gabel *(whose speedy Return nobody wished more heartily for than his* Danish *Majesty) was arrived. This happening at last in the Month of* August, *the Confederate Fleet put to Sea, and the transporting of the said Troops hither to* Zealand *was put in Execution, though with a great deal of Trouble and Danger; but it took up so much Time, that the Descent could not be ready till* September *following. Now when all these Preparations, as well for the Descent as the embarking of the Armies were entirely ready, his* Danish *Majesty assur'd himself that the Descent should be made within a few Days, at fartherst by the twenty first of* September. *The* Russian *Generals and Ministers first raised some Difficulties to those of* Denmark, *and afterwards on the seventeenth of* September *declar'd in an appointed Conference, that his* Czarish *Majesty considering the present Situation of Affairs, was of Opinion neither Forage nor Provision could be had in* Schonen; *and that consequently*

quently the Deſcent was not adviſable to be attempted this Year, but ought to be put off till next Spring. It may eaſily be imagined how much his Daniſh Majeſty was ſurpriz'd at this, eſpecially ſeeing the Czar if he had alter'd his Opinion as to this Deſign ſo ſolemnly concerted, might have declar'd it ſooner, and thereby ſaved his Daniſh Majeſty ſeveral Tons of Gold, ſpent upon the neceſſary Preparations. His Daniſh Majeſty did however in a Letter dated the twentieth of September, amply repreſent to the Czar, that although the Seaſon was very much advanc'd, the Deſcent might nevertheleſs eaſily be undertaken, with ſuch a ſuperior Force, as to get a Footing in Schonen, where being aſſur'd there had been a very plentiful Harveſt, he did not doubt but Subſtance might be found; beſides, the having an open Communication with his own Countries, it might eaſily be tranſported from thence. His Daniſh Majeſty alledg'd alſo ſeveral weighty Reaſons why the Deſcent was either to be made this Year, or the Thoughts of making it next Spring entirely be laid aſide; nor did he alone make theſe moving Demonſtrations to the Czar, but the Reſident and Admiral of a certain Potentate ſeconded the ſame alſo in a moſt preſſing Manner, and by expreſs Order endeavouring to bring the Czar into their Opinion, and to perſwade him to go on with the Deſcent: But his Czariſh Majeſty declar'd by his Anſwer of the twelfth of September, that he would adhere to the Reſolutions he had once taken concerning this Delay of making the Deſcent; but if his Daniſh Majeſty was reſolved to venture on the Deſcent, that he then, according to the Treaty made near Straelſund, would aſſiſt him only with the fifteen Batallions and a thouſand Horſe therein ſtipulated: The next Spring he would comply with every Thing elſe, and neither could nor would declare himſelf farther in this Affair. Since then his Daniſh Majeſty could not without running ſo great a Hazard undertake ſo great a Work only with his own Army and the ſaid fifteen Batallions, he deſir'd in another Letter of the twenty third of September, that his Czariſh Majeſty would be pleas'd to add thirteen Batallions more to the fifteen, and ſo aſſiſt him with twenty eight Batallions of his Troops, in which Caſe his Daniſh Majeſty would ſtill this Year attempt the Deſcent; but even this could not be obtain'd from his Czariſh Majeſty, who abſolutely refus'd it by his Ambaſſa-

dor on the twenty fourth Ditto; *whereupon his* Daniſh *Majeſty in his Letter of the twenty ſixth declar'd to the* Czar, *that ſince Things ſtood thus, he deſir'd none of his Troops, but that they might be all ſpeedily tranſported out of his Dominions, that ſo the Tranſports, whoſe Freight ſtood him in forty thouſand Rixdollars* per Month, *might be diſcharg'd, and his Subjects eas'd of the intollerable Contributions they now underwent.*

It muſt be left to Providence and Time to diſcover what may have induc'd the Czar *to a Reſolution ſo prejudicial to the* Northern *Alliance, and moſt advantageous to the common Enemy. It muſt in the mean Time be own'd by the impartial World, that in Regard to the above-mention'd ſure Circumſtances, it was not his* Daniſh *Majeſty's Fault, that the Deſcent was not made this Year, and thereby if poſſible the way made to a good and ſpeedy Peace; but that it hath been only prevented by the aforeſaid his* Czariſh *Majeſty's Reſolutions; and it is therefore his* Daniſh *Majeſty's moſt gracious Pleaſure, that his Reſident* Mynheer Von Stocken *ſhall in Caſe any Thing be mentioned contrary hereto, make uſe of this Account to contradict and refute all the bad Imputations which theſe Proceedings might perhaps occaſion.*

Written at the German *Secretary's Office at* Copenhagen, *the 10th of* October 1716.

It muſt be allow'd, that if the Baron *Goertz* brought this great Event to Perfection, if he was the ſecret Inſtrument, to give the *Czar* a true Proſpect how unequally he was matcht in the Adventure, and what unreaſonable a Share of the Hazard he was to run; if he found Means to break in upon the Confidence which on the *Czar's* Part (whatever it might be elſewhere) was concerted between his *Czariſh* Majeſty and other Powers, as I have Reaſon to think my ſelf aſſur'd he had; I ſay, this is a Thing of ſo nice, and ſo extraordinary a Nature, that I need mention nothing elſe to give the Reader an Idea of the Genius and Capacity of this great Man.

Since this, we find him counteracting the Meaſures of ſome other Powers, and to him it is ſaid to be owing,

owing, that the Congreſs at *Brunſwick* which the King of *Sweden* conſtantly declin'd, was not only dropp'd by ſeveral Princes, but even at laſt not inſiſted upon; even by the Czar of *Muſcovy* himſelf: It was certainly the King of *Sweden*'s Deſign to have that Congreſs put by, where ſo many Princes were to appear whoſe Intereſt embarkt them moſt naturally againſt the *Swedes*, and this at a Time when the Court of *France* ſeem'd inclin'd ſo much to different Meaſures from their Ordinary, that nothing could be expected on that Side; but yet the King of *Sweden* could not ſo well refuſe directly to ſend Plenipotentiaries to a Congreſs, whoſe Original was alledg'd to be in his Favour, and where the End propos'd was only a General Peace.

It was neceſſary therefore to raiſe Difficulties, and demand Preliminaries, ſuch as this in Particular, That the Foundation of the Treaty ſhould firſt be agreed on; That the Peace of *Munſter* ſhould be the Baſis of the Treaty, and that all the King of *Sweden*'s Dominions in *Germany* ſhould be reſtor'd to him: This the *Baron* was ſaid to have the Direction of, and he found Means to ſpin out the Negociation to a ſufficient Length, and at laſt to make the Obſtacles appear ſo invincible, that the Treaty or Congreſs of Miniſters has not of late been much talkt of.

Beſides the Difficulties about Preliminaries, the *Baron* found another, which indeed was as we may ſay conceiv'd to his Hand, but which he fail'd not to improve to his Maſter's Advantage, ſo as either to bring the Congreſs on upon ſuch Foundations as were for his Purpoſe, or to keep it effectually off, and this was the Diſpute of Mediators; the *Swedes* inſiſting on the Mediation of *France*, which the *Baron* knew well enough the Allies would not come into: Thus ſomething or other was always found out to puzzle this Affair, that they might ſtumble at the Threſhold, and the main Point was kept off ſtill: Had the King of *Sweden* liv'd a little longer, he would in all Probability have brought his Enemies to a Peace and Reſtitution without the Help of a Congreſs.

From

From theſe Things we come to ſpeak of the *Baron*, and his Conduct, in Matters nearer Home; I mean not nearer his Home, but ours, and the Tranſactions which firſt made his Name eminent among us: For our People had ſcarce heard of the Name of Baron *Goertz*, till the Seiſure of his Contemporary Count *Gyllemberg*, by the Government in *England*, for correſponding with the King's Enemies.

It was the 29th of *January*, in the Year 1716, when the Government here being inform'd that Count *Gyllemberg* the *Swediſh* Reſident was carrying on, or held Intelligence with ſome that did carry on dangerous Deſigns againſt the Publick Peace, the Count was ſeiz'd, and confin'd to his own Houſe, by a Detachment of the King's Guards, and all his Papers, Letters, *&c.* ſeal'd up, and afterwards carry'd to the Secretary's Office, to be perus'd, in order to make a farther Diſcovery, *&c.* The Story is ſo well known, that it would be very uſeleſs to offer a Detail of that Matter here.

The mentioning it is however neceſſary to introduce this General, *viz.* That upon peruſing Count *Gyllemberg*'s Papers and Letters, it ſoon appear'd that the Life and Soul of this Correſpondence was in ſhort the Baron *Goertz*. The Part he had in it was ſo nice, and managed as I have hinted before in other Caſes with ſuch Perfection of Cunning, that to this Day nothing could ever be trac'd far beyond him. It was eaſily diſcover'd who he correſponded with in the Part remaining to be put in Execution; but who correſponded with him as the ſecret Springs, and Wheels that gave Motion to the reſt, this never was known, nor could the ſubtileſt Enquirer penetrate that Part.

There was no doubt but that he carry'd on a ſtrict Correſpondence with the Party in *England* who are Enemies to King *George*, and with their Agents in *France*. That he receiv'd a conſiderable Sum from them, advanc'd upon a propos'd Aſſiſtance to be ſupply'd from *Sweden*, and that it was intimated plainly to be with the King of *Sweden*'s Approbation; and

yet

yet ſo well guarded was the *Baron* in all his Conduct, that the Government of *England* found it impoſſible to diſcover either one of their Correſpondents at Home, or whether ever the King of *Sweden* was appris'd and acquainted with their Deſign, yea or no.

Nor was this a little Diſappointment in *England*; for it could ſcarce be imagin'd, but after ſuch certain Diſcoveries that there was ſuch a Correſpondence really in Hand, ſomething might have been made of that Particular, that it might have been trac'd at leaſt to ſome other Agent, and they might have got hold of the Principals, that Rebellion being thus effectually cruſht in its beginning, the Seeds of it might have no room to grow.

The Diſcovery of Count *Gyllemberg*'s Letters carry us ſeveral Steps in the Enquiry at firſt. It prov'd paſt all Diſpute, that there was a Party at work to raiſe new Commotions; that they were not ſo contemptible as not to be thought worth enquiring after; that they were able to offer conſiderable Sums of Money for the encouraging Foreign Powers to eſpouſe them, and that ſome Money was advanc'd towards ſuch a thing: They learn'd further, that theſe Things were negociated between ſome People in *France*, and the People in *England*, who were to advance the Money: And they learn'd laſtly, that Baron *Goertz* was gotten in with thoſe People whoever they were.

This made the Government in *England* remove their Enquiries from *England* to *France* and *Holland*, and from ſeizing Count *Gyllemberg*, to endeavour to ſeize Baron *Goertz*. The Baron was at that Time in *France*, where he not only carry'd on the Negociation as above, but where it has been ſaid he received a conſiderable Sum of Money to be apply'd to the grand Affair; but the Fate of Things brought the *Baron* into the Hands of the King of *Great Britain*'s Officers, with more eaſe than it was expected; for he return'd from *France* into *Holland*, juſt when Mr. *Leathes* the *Britiſh* Agent had receiv'd Orders to look out for him, and

and to obtain leave of the States General to have him ſeiz'd. The Story of his being ſeiz'd, though often made Publick, is too much a Part of his Hiſtory to be omitted in this Account; and out of the many ways it has been publiſh'd, may be told more diſtinctly thus;

Mr. *Leathes* the *Britiſh* Miniſter at the *Hague*, had not receiv'd the News of the taking Count *Gyllemberg* at *London* above half an Hour, but an Expreſs in the Heels of it brought him an Order to obſerve narrowly the Return of Baron *Goertz*, and get an Order from the States to have him apprehended; and ſo happily did Things concur to the Execution of the King of *Great Britain*'s Meaſures, that the very ſame Evening that Mr. *Leathes* obtain'd Orders to apprehend him, the ſame Evening the *Baron* arriv'd at the *Hague* in his return from *France*.

It was the ſeventeenth of *February* N. S. when the *Baron* arriv'd at the *Hague*, Mr. *Leathes* the *Britiſh* Reſident being then at *Amſterdam*, taking Meaſures for the putting his Orders in Execution: The *Baron*, whoſe Intelligence was too good to admit his being ſurpriz'd, got Notice not only of the Deſign to apprehend him, but even of the leave given by the States for doing it; and though he appear'd without any Concern the next Day, the 18th, and had a Conference for form ſake with the *Imperial* Miniſter, on the Subject of the Peace in the *North*, and the Congreſs at *Brunſwick*; yet the next Morning he ſet out, having privately provided for his Departure, in a Poſt-Chaiſe, accompany'd with one Gentleman only, *viz.* General *Poniatowſki*, a *Poliſh* Nobleman, then in the ſecret Service of the King of *Sweden*. By this Step he effectually diſappointed Mr. *Leathes* in his firſt Meaſures, *viz.* in ſeizing him at the *Hague*, for which he had ſent Inſtructions that very Morning; but the Detachment of the Guards, which were ſent to his Houſe for that Purpoſe, came above an Hour too late; and had the *Baron* gone leſs publick through *Amſterdam*, he had never fallen into his Enemies Hands at all, or at leaſt not at that Time.

But

But the *Britiſh* Reſident, who follow'd his Meſſenger to the *Hague* with all Speed, finding the *Baron* fled, concluded he would go directly to *Amſterdam*, on a Suppoſition that the ſeizing him there, would not be ſo eaſy as at the *Hague*, and therefore he immediately turn'd back again to *Amſterdam*.

Now it was true, that the *Baron* was gone to *Amſterdam*, though not with a Deſign to ſtay there, or upon any Suppoſition that he ſhould be ſecure there, but only as it lay in the Way which he had pitch'd upon for his Eſcape; for the next Morning very early, he ſet out again Poſt for *Germany*. It was perhaps the only Inſtance of his Liſe, I mean to that Time, when he was ſo little preſent to himſelf, as to let it be publickly ſaid at the Place where he took Poſt, which Way he was going; and this one ſlip was fatal to him; for Mr. *Leathes* who was *as we may ſay* at his Heels, getting Intelligence of his Rout, and immediately engaging the famous Commiſſary *Vleertman* (the ſame who us'd to be the flying Meſſenger of News from the Army in the late Wars) to perſue him; the Commiſſary ſo well beſtirr'd himſelf, that he arriv'd at *Arnheim* the ſame Moment that the *Baron* entred the Port with his Chaiſe: Being both entred the Town, Mr. *Vleertman* watching the *Baron* to his Inn, went to the Burgomaſters, and ſhewing his Orders, got the *Baron* apprehended the ſame Night.

It was in vain the *Baron* made complaint of the Violation of the Right of Publick Miniſters, and of the Law of Nations: The States gave him for Anſwer, that as he was not entruſted with any Credentials to them, they could not look upon him as a Publick Miniſter from any Prince whatſoever, much leſs from the King of *Sweden*, whoſe natural born Subject he was not; and that therefore the King of *Great Britain*, their Friend and Ally, having deſir'd leave to ſtop him in their Dominions, as a Perſon carrying on dangerous Deſigns againſt his Perſon and Government, and as a Perſon who was no otherwiſe under their Protection than as a Stranger or Paſſenger going through their Country, they could do no leſs than grant ſuch

Conſent; and that he was not the States Priſoner, but the King of *Great Britain*'s Priſoner, without whoſe Conſent he could not be releas'd.

The *Baron* had no Remedy now but Patience, the Sovereign Support of the Mind under all otherwiſe inſupportable Miſchiefs; but one Thing he complain'd of perhaps with too much Juſtice, which however on a Repreſentation to the King of *Great Britain* was rectify'd, *viz.* That he was treated with Severity and Rudeneſs, by the Perſons in whoſe Cuſtody he was committed; whether this was from the natural Roughneſs of the *Dutch* Nation, or the particular ill Manners of the *Arnheimers*, or done by the Soldiers to extort Money for their Civility, I will not undertake to ſay; but this is certain, that the *Baron* complain'd he was not us'd as a Gentleman at all, that the Soldiers were kept within-ſide his Chamber-Door, that an Officer continually lay with him in the Bed, that when in the Day Time endeavouring to retire himſelf, he had no other Retreat than to lie down and draw the Curtains round him, they were ſo rude as to draw back the Curtains, and refuſe to let them be clos'd about him, that they ſmoak'd Tobacco in his Chamber, and the like.

But as theſe Things, if they were true, were far from being directed by his *Britiſh* Majeſty, or by any of the Government in *England*; ſo upon a juſt Repreſentation of them at the *Britiſh* Court, the *Baron* had ſuch Relief, as that he did not complain afterwards; and not only was he reliev'd as to the Uſage of the Soldiers and Keepers, but he had alſo a very conſiderable Allowance by the King's Order, for his Subſiſtance ſuitable to his Quality, and to the Figure which he made in the World: This Allowance was ſeverally reported in *England* and in *Holland*, ſome of the Publick News-Papers in *England* ſaid it was three hundred Pounds *per* Month, ſome in *Holland* made it leſs; as for the *Baron* himſelf, he always ſpoke modeſtly of himſelf, and generouſly of others; and in this Caſe, though he was ſilent as to the Sum, yet he always ſpoke of it as a very handſome and honourable Allowance;

lowance; and being not ſo certain of the Sum, as to enter farther upon that Particular, I chooſe to ſay no more of it.

This ſeizing of Baron *Goertz* made a great Noiſe in the World; every one ſpoke of it as their Party and Opinion guided them; ſome Books were printed of it in Private, even here in *England*, which took great Freedoms in the Caſe; but the Government always took what Care they could not to ſuffer Publick Writers to enter too far into ſuch Things, and theſe Books were publiſh'd very ſparingly, and rather handed about privately from one Friend to another, than publickly ſold as other Pamphlets are.

But in *Holland* they took more Liberty, and Monſieur *Praetz* the *Swediſh* Reſident, or Secretary at the *Hague*, made great Stirs, and deliver'd in ſeveral Memorials to the States General on this Subject, ſtill demanding the *Baron* by the Law of Nations as a Publick Miniſter, and one who could not be ſeiz'd upon, or his Papers ſeiz'd, eſpecially in the Manner as had been done, without infringing the Priviledges of Ambaſſadors, eſpecially from Crown'd Heads; but the Court of *Great Britain* held its hold, and inſiſted upon detaining the *Baron*; and the States General who ſeem'd to act the Neutral Part, endeavour'd to refer the Quarrel or Diſpute rather entirely to the *Britiſh* Court.

It is not my Buſineſs in Writing of Baron *Goertz*, to enter into the Diſpute of the Right of Nations, or to make this Tract a Diſquiſition of the Caſe between the *Baron* and the Court of *Great Britain*, neither will in the Circumſtances which I write, *viz.* as a Subject of *Great Britain*, and the Place where this is to be publiſh'd, admit me to take the indifferent Part, and relate particularly what either Side alledg'd for or againſt, eſpecially ſeeing ſome of the Advocates in this Cauſe did not tie themſelves down to Decency, and the due Regard of Perſons, as perhaps they ought to have done; a Thing which I neither juſtifie or care to imitate, no, or ſo much as to repeat and hand down the Memory of it to Poſterity.

What the Miniſter of *Sweden* at the *Hague* did on this Account (for there was now no *Swediſh* Miniſter at *London*) I ſay, What the Miniſter of *Sweden* ſaid on this Account, I think is very material, becauſe it ſeems to be next Door to the *Baron*'s Speaking in his own Caſe.

The firſt Thing the Reſident did, was to prove the *Baron* a Publick Miniſter of the King of *Sweden*'s, which he did by producing his full Powers, ſign'd by his *Swediſh* Majeſty's own Hand; but this had no effect with the States, becauſe as they alledg'd, thoſe full Powers only authoriz'd him to act as a Publick Miniſter, or Agent in the Affair of the Peace, to be negociated at *Brunſwick* or elſewhere, between the King of *Sweden* and the Powers with whom he was at War; but the Whole ſeem'd to turn upon this Point, *viz.* That the States had never receiv'd or acknowledg'd him as a Publick Miniſter, neither had he (the *Baron*) legitimated himſelf in the Capacity of a Publick Miniſter of *Sweden* to them; and that therefore his having full Powers to qualify him in reſpect of other Princes, was not effectual to the Caſe in Hand; and upon this Nicety they ſtill detain'd him, and gave no Anſwer to the Secretary of *Sweden*'s Memorial.

The *Swediſh* Secretary however reſted not, but ſollicited the States by a third Memorial, dated the ſeventeenth of *April* 1717, to the ſame Purpoſe, but with the Addition of ſome Arguments relating to his being employ'd in negociating the Peace of the *North*, but neither did the States think fit to give any Anſwer to this.

But Matters having now revolv'd ſome Time, and the *Swediſh* Agent having had returns to the Accounts which he had tranſmitted of theſe Things to his Maſter the King of *Sweden*, ſome more Notice began to be taken of Things; for (*as it may be obſerv'd here*) the King of *Sweden* had by way of Repriſal arreſted Mr. *Jackſon*, the *Britiſh* Miniſter in *Sweden*; and though his *Swediſh* Majeſty did not think fit to arreſt the *Dutch* Reſident at *Stockholm*, yet he was by the King's ſpeci-

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al Order forbidden the Court, and desir'd to give his Parole that he would not depart the Country; and the Secretary now deliver'd a Memorial by the special Order of the King of *Sweden*, importing a Summary of the whole Matter, as well in *England*, relating to the seizing Count *Gyllemberg*, as of the Part relating to the seizing the Baron *Goertz* in the Dominions of the States General: This Memorial being very Particular, I must not omit, as follows, *viz.*

Most High and Mighty Lords,

THE under-written Secretary of the Commands of his Majesty the King of Sweden, *has receiv'd Orders to represent to your High Mightinesses, his Majesty the King of* Great Britain *has arrested the Count* De Gyllemberg, *his Majesty's Minister at the Court of* Great Britain, *contrary to the Rights of Nations, and against all Usage in the like Cases, after having for some Posts before stopp'd his Letters both going and coming. That his* British *Majesty has in like Manner by Force taken away all the Papers of the King, that were found in the Hands of the said Minister. That he has forbid the Access of Foreign Ministers to him, and has caus'd him to be so strictly guarded, that he is not permitted to see or speak to, even his own Domesticks, but in the Presence of an Officer of the Guard; to which must be added, that the King of* Great Britain *has communicated nothing to his Majesty, much less made Complaints against the Conduct of that Minister of* Sweden, *residing at his Court. That this violent Procedure, which his* Britanick *Majesty has made use of, is the only Motive which has oblig'd the King of* Sweden *to make Repriſal, and to treat in the same Manner, Mr.* Jackson, *Minister of* Great Britain, *at* Stockholm, *which his Majesty could not avoid, seeing such Procedure is without Example, and contrary to the Security due to a Publick Minister, who is not responsible for his Actions, but to the Prince that sends him, who is his sole and only Judge. That all Means of Negociating is absolutely cut off, if any Court be permitted upon the first Suspicion, whether well or ill-grounded, and at its own Pleasure to seize upon the Papers of another Prince, which are in the Hands of his Minister; and his Instructions and Orders, which according*

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ing to the Laws of Nations, ought to be ſacred and protected, from all ſort of Violence.

All which Reaſons make the King hope, that your High Mightineſſes will not only not approve of this violent Procedure, of the King of Great Britain, *againſt the Miniſter of* Sweden, *at his Court; but that your High Mightineſſes will alſo look upon it as an Affair which trouble themſelves, by Reaſon of the Example it gives to other Courts; and that therefore your High Mightineſſes will employ their Care, and contribute by their good Offices, to the procuring to his Majeſty a juſt Satisfaction.*

The under-written having made Report to the King his Maſter, of the Arreſt of Baron Goertz, *his Plenipotentiary Miniſter, and his Attendants, as alſo the ſeizing of his Papers, his Majeſty has given expreſs Orders to the ſaid underwritten, to ſignifie with all Reſpect due to your High Mightineſſes, that his Majeſty could not bear without the greateſt Surprize, that your High Mightineſſes have at the Requeſt of the King of* Great Britain, *caus'd without Reaſon, to be arreſted the Baron* De Goertz, *his Plenipotentiary Miniſter, and his Papers to be ſeiz'd by Force: His Majeſty the leaſt expected this from your High Mightineſſes, in regard that the ſaid Procedure is as contrary to the Law of Nations, as to the Alliance and Friendſhip which ſubſiſts between his Majeſty and your High Mightineſſes.*

His Majeſty in the mean Time promiſes himſelf, that your High Mightineſſes will immediately cauſe the ſaid Baron Goertz, *and his Attendants, to be ſet at Liberty, and his Papers reſtor'd; and that your High Mightineſſes will think of giving his Majeſty a juſt Satisfaction, and avoid putting his Majeſty under the Neceſſity of uſing againſt his own Inclination, Repriſals, and procuring in his own Way, the Satisfaction which with all Equity and Juſtice he has pretence to.*

For the Reſt, the King thinks it for his Dignity, not to allow the Sieur Rumpff, *Reſident of your High Mightineſſes, Admittance to his Court, or to any Negociations with his Miniſters, till he receives an exact Information of the further Proceedings of your High Mightineſſes, towards Baron* Goertz, *and concerning the Point of Satisfaction.*

The under-written hopes, that your High Mightineſſes will give to him upon all the Premiſes, an Anſwer worthy of their

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High Wiſdom and Prudence; and that they will forthwith enable him to make an agreeable Report to his Majeſty, of the Succeſs of the Repreſentations which he has had the Honour to make to your High Mightineſſes.

Done at the *Hague*, *May* the 22d, 1717. Sign'd PREIS.

The States did not think fit to return an Anſwer to the *Swediſh* Secretary perſonally, neither to this or any of his former Memorials; but the Reſident at the Court of *Sweden*, having tranſmitted to them a Repreſentation deliver'd to him by Order of his *Swediſh* Majeſty, their High Mightineſſes came to a Reſolution thereupon, in Anſwer to the Complaints of his *Swediſh* Majeſty; and having deſir'd a Conference with the Marquiſs *De Chateauneuf*, Ambaſſador of *France*, they communicated their Anſwer to him; and as the King of *Sweden* has forbid his Miniſters of State at Home, to have any Correſpondence with the *Dutch* Reſident at *Stockholm*, they deſir'd him to tranſmit their Anſwer to the Count *De la Marq*, at the *Swediſh* Court, and to deſire that he will deliver the ſame to the King of *Sweden*, which the *French* Ambaſſador promiſed to do; but the next Day the States ſent for the *Swediſh* Secretary, and told him the Reaſons why they could not anſwer his Memorials; but had the Civility to tell him, that it was not out of any Diſlike of his Perſon, but only becauſe their own Miniſter was forbidden the *Swediſh* Court.

Upon theſe Punctilios the States acted in this Part of their Proceedings. As for the Baron *Goertz*, he continu'd cloſe confin'd at *Arnheim*, and very ſtrictly guarded, on Pretence of ſome Deſigns that were in Hand to reſcue him, or at leaſt it was pretended there were Meaſures taken for him to make his Eſcape; though ſuch a Thing was not afterwards prov'd, or any Examinations taken to make it probable.

The King of *Sweden* claim'd him as his Servant, and that his Papers ſhould be reſtor'd with him; but the States put it off with good Words, being very unwilling

ling to embark themſelves in the Quarrel, and yet not inclin'd to do any Thing in it without the Concurrence of the *Britiſh* Court, who ſteddily oppos'd it.

In the mean Time, the *Swedes* endeavour'd to repreſent this Carriage of the States at other Courts, in a Manner very much to their Diſadvantage; and even the *French*, though not willing to come openly into thoſe Sentiments, yet did all that was poſſible to bring it to an Accommodation; for as the King of *Sweden* own'd the *Baron* as his Miniſter Plenipotentiary, ſome undertook to prove, by the Uſage of Nations, that a Plenipotentiary is a Publick Miniſter to all Nations in Amity, though he has not been particularly acknowdg'd or receiv'd by any ſeparate State, as an Envoy or Miniſter to them.

The States General had many Meetings and Conferences upon this Subject, as well among themſelves as by their Deputies, with the Miniſters of other Nations; and though they could not be brought to give up the Caſe in Right, or to releaſe the *Baron* as a Perſon injur'd and oppreſs'd, and who ought not to have been arreſted, in which Caſe they muſt neceſſarily have made an Acknowledgment, and perhaps Satisfaction to the King of *Sweden*; yet it began to be evident, that they would have been very glad if the Circumſtance had not happen'd: From whence ſome have ſaid, though I do not ſay how truly, that they were not ſorry when the States of *Guelderland* deliver'd the *Baron* out of Priſon at *Arnheim*, though it was out of the way, and without their Concurrence.

It was ſaid indeed, that it was done with the Connivance of the Generality, if not with their Concurrence; and it was inſiſted on, that the States of *Guelderland* would not have concern'd themſelves ſo particularly in the Intereſt of a private Gentleman, as to have deliver'd him contrary to the poſitive Orders of the United Body, if it had not been well known that the States would not enter into any Enquiry upon that Head; and the Silence of the Generality upon that Head, after the Thing was done, was brought

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as an Argument to ſtrengthen the Reaſonings upon that Subject.

But this is not the preſent Buſineſs, nor can we come to a Certainty of the Fact, or determine poſitively one way or other.

However, an Anſwer it was abſolutely neceſſary to give, and they were ſollicited earneſtly to do it as well by other Miniſters, as by the *French* Ambaſſador, it being alledg'd, that it would be not only provoking to the King of *Sweden*, but a tacit Confeſſing of the Charge, if neither the *Baron* was enlarg'd, or the King's Letter anſwer'd: Accordingly the Anſwer was deliver'd to the *French* Ambaſſador, and is to be ſeen in moſt of the publick Papers of that Time.

This Anſwer is not only too long to be incerted here, but as it ſeems to be only a Deduction of the Reaſons for their ſuffering the Baron *Goertz* to be arreſted in their Dominions, and the Reaſons why they ought not to look upon him as a Perſon of publick Character, much leſs a Miniſter of the King of *Sweden*'s; all which I have in General touch'd at before; for this Reaſon I wave the Repetition of it, as not material on this Occaſion.

The Sum of the Matter was, in ſhort, that the Baron continu'd confin'd, and was left to his Shifts to work out his own Enlargement, by the Strength of his own Genius, which he at laſt effected, notwithſtanding the powerful Intereſt of his Oppoſers; and his Deliverance this way, as it was a Proof of his Dexterity in Management, ſo it was no leſs ſuprizing in its kind, than his ſo ſudden being ſeiz'd before; but of this, I muſt ſpeak in its order.

After the laſt incerted Memorial of the *Swediſh* Secretary, and the States Anſwer, the Matter was no more manag'd by the ſaid Secretary, the States declining to act by him, for the Reaſons already mention'd; ſo the *French* Ambaſſador Monſieur the Marquiſs *De Chaſteauneuf* acted as Mediator, and all the Memorials, Propoſals and Anſwers, were given in by both Parties through his Hands, and ſeveral Mediums were propos'd on both Sides for an Accommodation,

between the reſpective Kings of *Great Britain* and *Sweden*, all which is remote to our Purpoſe; for none of theſe propos'd Mediums had any View of reſtoring the *Baron* to his Liberty, any other way than on the Terms of Satisfaction to the King of *Great Britain*, from the King of *Sweden*, intimating that his *Swediſh* Majeſty did not approve of the Conduct of his Miniſters; whereas the *Baron* inſiſted upon coming out, in the right of his Publick Character, which would not be admitted.

Theſe things employ'd the Heads of the Miniſters for ſome Months, and the *Baron* remain'd in his Confinement very impatiently; not but that he ſaw a Treaty commenc'd, which in its End would certainly have deliver'd him, as it did afterwards the *Swediſh* Reſident Count *Gyllemberg*, by way of Exchange; but this was by no Means to his Satisfaction; and from this Moment he went to work by Wheels and Engines of his own.

As the *Baron* had been a Match for Men of greater Heads than the Burgomaſter and Magiſtrates of *Arnheim*, ſo he could not Deſpair of ſucceeding upon them. He found out proper Perſons in the City, who appear'd Malecontents, at the Conduct of the Magiſtrates in this Affair, who though they had room at leaſt, if not Reaſon to challenge the Conduct of the Burgomaſter; and perhaps in their City, as well as in other Cities, there were ſome People who envy'd thoſe above them, as is often the Caſe, and who were willing to pick out an Occaſion to quarrel at their Management. The *Baron* alſo found a proper Inſtrument to work up theſe Men to a Ferment, and to form a Party, even in the Town Council, whereby great Complaints were made both of the Magiſtrates, and of the General Body. It was inſinuated, that they had yielded up their Liberties to the Generality; that at leaſt they had gone a greater Length to comply with the Generality, than they need to have done; and that the Generality had gone a greater Length alſo, than they ought to have done, and had made themſelves Parties in a Quarrel, which they had

no

no Concern in, thereby provoking one powerful Prince, to oblige another more powerful; and this particular Action might coſt them dear, and that the King of *Sweden* might perhaps ſometime or other reſent it, to the general Injury of their Commerce; that though their City might be ſuppos'd to ſtand remote, and out of Danger, yet powerful Princes ſeldom wanted Means to do themſelves Juſtice upon all Occaſions.

Theſe Things, with a thouſand more, improv'd by Party, put into the Mouths of proper Perſons, and manag'd with the *Baron*'s uſual Dexterity, brought the City of *Arnheim* to enter into the Merits of the Caſe, a little more ſeriouſly than before. Some have ſaid they acted in Concert with the States General; but as I have been told otherwiſe with ſuch Aſſurance, that I cannot doubt the Perſons were fully inform'd; ſo I cannot be of that Mind.

Count *Reventlau* the *Holſtein* Miniſter in *Holland*, was the Principal Agent in this Part, in behalf of Baron *Goertz*; and he manag'd like *une habile homme*; in a Word, not the City of *Arnheim*, but the States of *Gulderland* came into the Merits of the Queſtion, and conſidering the Circumſtances of their Province, and how little it was their Intereſt to diſoblige the King of *Sweden*, they agreed to the *Baron*'s Applications, and diſcharg'd him by their own Authority; and as was ſaid, without the Concert of any other Province, or of the States General, only taking Count *Raventlau*'s Word of Honour that the *Baron* ſhould immediately depart the Country.

The Clamour rais'd on this ſurprizing Event was very great; even the Court of *France* complain'd of it, they having concerted the *Baron*'s Deliverance upon other Terms, which however as the *Baron* had no Mind to comply with, ſo he was not now bound by. What theſe Terms were, we were not told; but it was afterwards underſtood to be as I have mentioned above, upon an Exchange of the *Britiſh* Miniſter Mr. *Jackſon*, and of the King of *Sweden*'s giving a Declara-

tion that he had not approv'd the Conduct of his Miniſters, as well the *Baron* as Count *Gyllemb rg*.

Whether it was thus or not, we do not affirm; but the *Baron* being thus deliver'd from Priſon, was likewiſe deliver'd from the Neceſſity of having his Negociations diſown'd by his Maſter the King. As ſoon as the *Baron* was at Liberty, he went to *Zutphen*, where he remain'd ſome Days, and the *Dutch* ſollicited him very hard to permit himſelf to be carry'd to *Sweden* in one of the States Men of War, that the Propoſition aſſented to by the Regent of *France* might take Place; but the *Baron* had other Views, and let them ſoon ſee that he had Buſineſs of another kind in his Head; that as he was eſcap'd by an Intereſt of a different kind, ſo he had Meaſures to puſh on as different from what they expected as poſſible they could be; for the firſt Thing the *Baron* did, was to put himſelf into the Protection of the Czar of *Muſcovy*, a Prince too honourable to deliver him up willingly, and too powerful to be forc'd to it.

It was reported, that the *Baron* was gone to *Paris*; for the States General, as was ſaid, reſented the Manner of his being releas'd, and he found he was not ſo ſafe at *Zutphen* as he had expected to be, and this was the Reaſon which Count *Raventlau* gave, why he removed from thence, although the Count had given his Word of Honour for his remaining there till the whole Affair was adjuſted.

Count *Raventlau* found no great Difficulty to get off of the Engagement which he was under, the Dangers which the *Baron* ſeem'd expos'd to, pleading ſufficiently in Juſtification of his Eſcape; and ſtill there remain'd ſome Suſpicion in the Heads of the Speculators, that there was all this while more Grimace than real Reſentment in the Noiſe that was made of his going away; I mean in that Country in Particular; for no queſtion but that in *England* they were ſincerely ill pleas'd at the News.

We are now to attend the *Baron* to the Court of the Czar of *Muſcovy*: The Czar had been moſt Part of the Time that theſe Things were tranſacted in, abſent

ſent from his own Dominions, and was juſt now returning Home, the *Baron* gets the Protection of his Retinue, and follow'd with his Publick Miniſters, as one of the Domeſticks of that Prince, and in this Security he paſs'd to *Dantzick*; after which, having been incognito in that Court, and well receiv'd by that Prince, he continu'd ſome Time there, till he heard what turn Affairs took among his Maſter's Enemies, and his own; and till he receiv'd poſitive Orders to attend the King of *Sweden* in *Schonen*, where he had been all that Seaſon, making Proviſion againſt the Invaſions which ſome had ſo often threatn'd him with, but found themſelves ſo unable to put in Execution.

During his Stay in the Retinue and Dominions of the Czar, the *Baron* whoſe Genius would not permit him to be idle, and who always thought himſelf ſo when he was not employ'd in rendring his Maſter ſome Service, apply'd himſelf to cultivate the good Underſtanding which had of late ſeem'd to revive a little, between the King of *Sweden* and the Czar of *Muſcovy*. He thought it was great Pity that Breach ſhould not be made up at laſt, which had hitherto coſt both Nations ſo much Blood; and which as it might juſtly be ſaid, had almoſt beaten them both out of Breath.

He conſider'd the Czar as the only Prince who obſtructed his Maſter's Glory, and could but the Edge be taken off on that Side, he made no queſtion but his *Swediſh* Majeſty would give the World a good Account of all the reſt of his Enemies. It was here that he lay'd the Schemes for his Maſter the King of *Sweden*'s invading of the King of *Denmark*, in his Capital of *Copenhagen*, which had not the Froſts broke ſo ſoon, or had they broke much ſooner, had been put in Execution, with the greateſt Probability of Succeſs; that Prince being either at too remote a Diſtance from the reſt of his Allies, or elſe at too mean an Underſtanding with ſome of them to expect immediate Succour.

Here he begat ſeveral kind Sentiments between the Czar and the King of *Sweden*, remov'd all the former Piques

Piques which had any Thing in them that was Perſonal, and made way for the future Steps towards an Accommodation which thoſe Princes came mutually into afterwards, and which the *Baron* work'd at with an inceſſant Application to cultivate and bring up to a more agreeable Treatment of one another, than what had been the Uſage throughout the long War that had happen'd between the Nations, which however both thoſe Princes of late had ſeem'd weary of, and from their Native Generoſity had for ſome Time conſiderably abated.

It was not the leaſt Evidence of the accompliſh'd Genius of the Baron *De Goertz*, who could ſo far work upon the Tempers of two ſuch warm Princes, and could influence two Monarchs ſo emulous of their particular Glory, and nice in the reſenting the leaſt Shadow of any Diminution; Princes mutually, we do not ſay, equally poliſh'd; mutually glorious, and terrible to all that knew them, or at leaſt who had any Occaſion to embroil themſelves with them.

But the *Baron* had an irreſiſtible Addreſs, and inſinuating to either Side the Benefits of a laſting Peace between thoſe two, he found Means to repreſent, in particular, what a Door, a mutual Underſtanding would open to the glorious Enterprizes they had both in View, and to an Opportunity of extending the particular Conqueſts that were before them, upon others of their Neighbours leſs powerful. He fail'd not to lay before the Czar's Miniſters, or before ſuch as were able to manage it with them afterwards to advantage, how ill the Czar had been treated by ſome of his Allies; and in Particular, how the *Daniſh* Court who were under ſuch infinite Obligations to his *Czariſh* Majeſty, had behav'd in the late Diſputes between them, and in the Manifeſto publiſh'd by the King's Order, *the ſame mention'd above:* He forgot not to acquaint them with ſome other Paſſages which his Intelligence in *Holſtein*, and at the *Daniſh* Court furniſhed him with, which the *Muſcovite* Miniſter had not been acquainted with; and particularly with the Apprehenſions they were in at *Copenhagen*, after the

Czar

Czar of *Muſcovy* declin'd the Enterprize upon *Schonen*, leaſt his *Czariſh* Majeſty ſhould have made ſome Attempt upon the *Danes*, unbecoming his Character, and the Honour of a Prince; which Apprehenſions, as ſaid to be ſuggeſted, were really highly reflecting, and were ſuch an Affront to his *Czariſh* Majeſty, as the *Baron* thought no Prince ought to ſit down with.

He fail'd not on another Side to aggravate with all his Skill, an Article which the Czar himſelf was as ill pleas'd with as could be deſir'd, and in which his *Czariſh* Majeſty found a great deal of room to think himſelf ill treated, and that was the Length which ſome of the Princes of the Empire, if not the Emperor himſelf, carry'd their Importunities for removing the *Muſcovite* Troops out of the Dutchy of *Mecklemberg*, by which ſome of his *Czariſh* Majeſty's Meaſures on that Side, however remote from what was ſuggeſted at that time, were broken, and neceſſarily alter'd: If the Czar had with-drawn thoſe Troops with Regret, and not till ſo many Princes concern'd themſelves in the Demand, that a Prince ſo penetrating as the Czar, could not but ſee he was not in a Condition to contend with at that Diſtance; yet, the *Baron* knew very well, that the Meaſures taken in that Affair, were not the moſt agreeable to his *Czariſh* Majeſty, of any in the World, and that he was not without his particular Reſentments on that Account; tho' his Wiſdom and Prudence permitted him not at that Time to carry on thoſe Diſſatisfactions any farther; and the *Baron*, who perhaps knew ſome Circumſtances in that Affair, which were not ſo particularly diſcover'd to the *Muſcovite* Court, did not reſtrain himſelf from giving that Affair ſuch a Turn, as he thought would be moſt probable to encreaſe, rather than leſſen the Diſguſt taken at them before.

It is not for us at this Diſtance, to give the Detail of all the Diſcourſes upon theſe Heads, which paſs'd between the *Baron*, and the Inſtruments who he found proper to make uſe of on that Occaſion; it is much eaſier for us to conclude, from the Succeſs of his Management, that he had not done the beſt Offices for

ſome

ſome of the Allies with that Prince, whoſe Favour he then enjoy'd.

When he began to diſcourſe of the *Poliſh* Affairs, he was no farther to ſeek than he was in the other; nor had he leſs room to work in; the Conduct of the King, *Auguſtus* having for ſome Time before that, been far from being the moſt acceptable to the Czar, and that of his Miniſters ſtill leſs: The Miſunderſtandings of theſe Princes, are too long to enter into the Hiſtory of here, neither is it to the Purpoſe; it is enough to the Caſe, to take Notice, that the *Baron* knew very well, the *Poliſh* Court had not made the Czar of *Muſcovy* the moſt grateful Returns, or treated his *Czariſh* Majeſty after a Manner that ſo generous, ſo ſteddy, and ſo conſtant an Ally, in the Eyes of all indifferent Men deſerv'd; and ſo far had his *Czariſh* Majeſty been from receiving a juſt Recompence for the Blood and Treaſure of his Subjects, exhauſted in a long and doubtful bloody War with the *Swedes*; that ſome Things had been offer'd very ſhocking on that Side, and which perhaps the World may yet ſee the *Czar* do himſelf Juſtice in, after all this Part is over.

Baron *Goertz*, who was perfect Maſter of this Part, was able to give ſome Light into it, which perhaps none elſe could do; and I have been told, how true it may be, I do not affirm, that the *Baron* diſcover'd ſome private Negociations, or Offers at leaſt, for a Negociation of Peace or Accommodation, between the King of *Sweden*, and the King of *Pruſſia*, excluſive of the Czar of *Muſcovy*.

Whether this were true in Fact, or whether the *Baron* only inſinuated the Probability of its being brought about, is not poſitively known; but this is certain, that the *Baron* had his uſes to make of ſuch a Thing; and it is as certain, that ſome Perſons of no ſmall Figure in the *Muſcovite* Court believ'd it, and do believe it to this Day; and who indeed can doubt but ſuch a Thing might be true, when they obſerve that the King of *Pruſſia* has ſince that entred into a ſtrict Alliance with that Monarch and a certain Power *as the*

Czar

Czar *calls it*, more remote, without the Participation of the Czar, or of his Intereſt, which is the more grating to his *Czariſh* Majeſty, becauſe that Alliance not only is ſaid to be particularly pointed at his Power, but the Contents of it have not been communicated to him; at leaſt, not as I hear of yet.

There are ſo many other Things, in which the Conduct of the King of *Poland* claſhes with the Intereſt of the Czar, that the Baron *Goertz* could not want a Handle to propagate a Miſunderſtanding on that Side, which we have ſince ſeen encreaſing to a Pitch, that we believe ſtill may produce Conſequences very ruinous to the *Poles*, eſpecially if the preſent Czar of *Muſcovy*, who is a Prince capable of Reſentment, thinks fit to do himſelf Juſtice upon the *Poliſh* Nation or Republick.

It was very eaſy for Baron *Goertz*, to inculcate how juſt it was for the Czar to prevent the Dutchy of *Courland* falling into the Hands of the *Poliſh* Commonwealth, or Republick; and how eaſy to prevent it, and to bring the *Poles* to reaſonable Conditions in that Affair.

It was eaſy for him, to perſwade the Czar to inſiſt upon being refunded by the Republick, the vaſt Sums of Money ſpent in their Defence, in the late War, and to think himſelf ill uſed if it was not paid; at the ſame Time, knowing that the Republick was in no Condition to do it, or ſo much as to pay the Intereſt of thoſe Sums.

How far Baron *Goertz* improv'd thoſe Advantages, Poſterity will perhaps ſee plainer than we, when they ſhall ſee perhaps bloody and tedious Wars, of ſeveral Kinds, take their Beginning from the Diſcontents fram'd at theſe Things; for all the *Baron*'s Friends will be Witneſſes to this, that he loſt no Time, and having tarry'd in the Czar of *Muſcovy*'s Dominions no longer than 17 Days, he yet ſet on Foot the greateſt Negociations that have been carry'd on for ſome Years paſt; and which may perhaps employ great Part of the World for many Years to come.

All People were preſently made ſenſible of this,

when they found, that no ſooner was Baron *Goertz* arriv'd in *Sweden*, but there appear'd a new Face of Things on that Side adjacent to *Muſcovy*: For Example, Frequent Meſſengers and Expreſſes were ſeen running between the Courts, mutual Civilities paſs'd, unheard of before, Trade and Navigation began to ſtir, the Ships paſs'd and repaſs'd, between *Sweden* and *Dantzick*, and between *Sweden* and *Pruſſia*, without Moleſtation; Corn and Proviſions were carry'd to *Sweden*, without Danger, the *Muſcovite* Cruizers being with-drawn, the *Swediſh* Merchants traded into Places poſſeſs'd by the Czar, and the Czar's Subjects again did the like into *Sweden*: Priſoners of Note, taken in the War, and kept in Cuſtody for ſeveral Years, were now deliver'd, or exchang'd without any Cartel; and at length, an open Treaty was begun at *Abo* in *Finland*.

It was on theſe Occaſions, that the various Reports were ſpread about, and Jealouſies infus'd among the *Northern* Allies, that the Czar was making a ſeparate Peace with the King of *Sweden*, the Appearances of which were ſo clear, that all the Declarations of the Czar and his Miniſters at the reſpective Courts, could never remove the thoughts of it from their Heads, or ſtop the ſpreading it among the People, where it paſs'd for Current, even to the laſt Minute of the King of *Sweden*'s Life.

That this Treaty was carry'd on farther than has ever yet been made Publick, will not be doubted; and it is one of the greateſt Mortifications at the *Swediſh* Court, at this Time, that all the Papers relating to that Negociation were with Monſieur *Stambk*, Baron *Goertz* his Secretary, eſcap'd out of their Hands, and put into the Cuſtody of the Czar; ſo that whatever Length the Czar went in that Affair, it is now in his own Breaſt to conceal it from the reſt of the World, and make it an entire Secret, as long as he thinks fit; nor can we doubt, but that this was the principal Reaſon why ſo ſevere a Sentence was paſs'd upon Monſieur *Stambk*, as to be broke alive upon the Wheel, when ever he ſhould fall into the Hands of the

Swedes,

Swedes, no other Crime being ever laid to his Charge; at leaſt, that we have yet heard of.

This Treaty was firſt carry'd on for ſome Time, or rather propos'd to be carry'd on, at *Abo* a City on the Sea Coaſt of *Finland*, over againſt *Stockholm*; but the King of *Sweden* thinking it diſhonourable to treat in a City of his own, at that Time poſſeſs'd by his Enemies, in Right of Conqueſt, abſolutely refus'd to ſend his Plenipotentiaries thither; and the Czar of *Muſcovy* was ſo juſt to the King of *Sweden*'s Reaſons in that Part, and ſo far from inſiſting haughtily and poſitively upon that Place, that he conſented to remove the Treaty to the Iſle of *Aland*, a ſmall Iſland in the *Baltick*, which though it had been in the Poſſeſſion of his Troops, was quitted again, and ſtood as it were in the Middle, between the two Princes Dominions, in a Manner neutral, having very few Inhabitants in it, and ſtanding ſo in the Mouth of the *Bathnick* Gulf, that it might be eaſily reach'd by either Side.

Here Baron *Goertz* fix'd the Place of Treaty, and here the King of *Sweden* ſent himſelf, Count *Gyllemberg*, and afterwards General *Reinſchild*, as Plenipotentiaries. There was nothing of this Nature ever carry'd on with more Art, or conceal'd with more Care, than the Negociations at this Place; the whole World, and the moſt penetrating People in it, were at a Loſs about it, all the publick Accounts given of it prov'd empty and frivolous: Some Times it was undone, and would all come to nothing; another Time it was as good as concluded; and again, the next Time 'twas entirely broken off. Some Times it was ſaid to ſtop at the King of *Sweden*; ſome Times at the Czar of *Muſcovy*; ſome Times the great Difficulties were gotten over; other Times they were ſo unconquerable, as that it was impoſſible to get over them. Some Times 'twas as good as done; and at other Times it was not like to be concluded at all; ſo exactly did the Czar and the King of *Sweden* preſerve the Secret among themſelves, and amuſe the World.

It is true, the neighbouring Courts were jealous, and the King of *Denmark* eſpecially; but as the Czar

always assur'd them, that he would make no Peace without doing Justice to his Allies, they had nothing farther to enquire into; but stood still, *as it were*, oblig'd to be content with that General; and as to the Particulars, they were always impenetrable.

The *Baron* manag'd all this Affair by his own particular Schemes, in Concurrence with his *Swedish* Majesty; and so nice was he in the Execution of his Commission, and so exactly did he guard the Secret he was entrusted with, that he would not so much as trust the most faithful of his Servants, or Secretaries, nor even himself with any Letters or Writings about it; but when ever the Treaty stopp'd, for want of farther Instructions, or as often as any Difficulty occurr'd, where-ever the King was, the *Baron* always went to him himself; there he communicated to his Majesty, what Steps he had taken in Pursuance of former Instructions, and receiv'd new. There he had occasion to give his Opinion freely in the Points disputed, to expostulate with that generous Prince, who knowing the Goodness of his Judgment, yielded to him in many Things, in which to the Opinion of others he was deaf, and unperswadable. There he took his farther Instructions in all Things, and the King's Resolutions to every Question in Debate, *viva voce*, without the Trouble of written Instructions; so that when-ever his Enemies had attempted any Violence upon him, as it was said was often design'd, they would never have found the least Script of any Thing about him, that would have given them any Light into the Negociations, which he was entrusted with; and this appear'd at last, to the no small Surprize of the Court; for to this Hour, his Conduct was so nice, the Caution he acted with was so steddy, and his Measures so secure, that though he was surpriz'd in the most unexpected Manner, the King's Death being the most unexpected Incident, that could possibly have happen'd to him; and though after his being apprehended, no Stone was left unturn'd to come at the Particular of his Negociations, yet not the least Bit of Paper ever fell into their Hands, that could

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give them any Light; no not the leaſt Glimpſe of Light, into the Meaſures taken, or to be taken by him, in all that intricate and perplex'd Affair.

So faithful, ſo capable an Agent, merited well to be entruſted with Things of the higheſt Moment, and of the greateſt Conſequence. Matters committed to him, were as dark as Death, and as ſecure, as if they had been bury'd. It was no wonder, if the World buſy'd themſelves in vain with their Enquiries, into the Secret of this Negotiation. It was laid too deep to be reach'd by any of their Gueſſes; too ſecure to be pick'd out of any of their Agents; and perhaps now Baron *Goertz* is cut off, the Secret may never be made known; unleſs the ſame Schemes ſhould be perſued under any New Miniſtry in *Sweden*, which however may not be impoſſible.

Our News-Mongers here, and indeed the Fraternity of them all over *Europe*, gave themſelves a Liberty to talk as their Party directed, concerning this Treaty: Some aſſur'd us the Peace between the Czar of *Muſcovy* and the King of *Sweden*, was as good as concluded; that nothing remain'd unadjuſted, but the King of *Sweden*'s reſolving inflexibly not to Part with the Town and Harbour of *Revel*, which the Czar inſiſted upon ſo poſitively, that he would not make the Peace without it.

Others, in their abundant Pretenſions to Intelligence, told us, that the Peace was concluded, and mutually ſign'd, the Czar himſelf being at *Abo*, on Purpoſe to ratify it; but that it was agreed between his *Swediſh* Majeſty and the Czar, not to make the Contents Publick, till ſome other Schemes laid between them were concerted, and which would ſurprize the World much more than the Peace.

It is moſt certain indeed, that what Schemes ſoever were propos'd between thoſe two Monarchs, yet the Peace it ſelf was never ſign'd; but that there was a Grand Scheme, which was mutually under Conſideration of both, we have more Reaſon to ſay, than is meet to publiſh here; how far the World would have been ſurpriz'd at the Execution of it, is a Caſe by it

ſelf;

ſelf; and may come to be ſtill better known than ever it was yet, if ſome People go on to puſh his *Czariſh* Majeſty to the Neceſſity of doing Juſtice, to thoſe that uſe him ungratefully; but even this Part is not only not fully known, but even that which perhaps is known, may not be ſo fit to ſpeak of in this Place.

Five Times Baron *Goertz* paſs'd and repaſs'd, between the King his Maſter, in the remoteſt Part of *Schonen*, and the Place of Treaty, on that Important Affair of this Negociation; reſolving as above, to be the Meſſenger of his own Conferences, and to be the Bearer of the King's Orders. It muſt be the Senſe the Czar muſt have of the Importance of what the *Baron* carry'd and brought, that would admit the putting ſuch a full Stop, and that ſo often as the *Baron's* Abſence occaſion'd, to the Buſineſs of the Treaty.

In all theſe Intervals, the *Muſcovite* Potentate waitted without any Difficulty or Impatience for his Return, fully ſatisfy'd as well of his Diſpatch, as of the Neceſſity of his Errand; in all which Journeys he gave Orders to his Secretary Monſieur *Stambk*, that in Caſe he at any Time heard of any Thing befallen him, (the *Baron*) any Inſult offer'd him, or ſtop put to him, that he ſhould immediately put himſelf, and all the Papers he was entruſted with, into the Hands, and under Protection of the Czar of *Muſcovy*; and the like Proviſion he made by two ſeveral Servants at *Stockholm*, that as ſoon as ever any Inſult was offer'd him, they ſhould ride away Night and Day to give Intelligence to Monſieur *Stambk* at *Aland*.

To a Man thus prepar'd, nothing could be a Surprize; for it is manifeſt, that Baron *Goertz* foreſaw by the Malice and Rage of the *Swediſh* Courtiers againſt him, for carrying on that Negociation excluſive of the Senators and Counſellors of the Kingdom, that when-ever they had Opportunity, they would treat him with all the Indecency they could; and as he was not ſure that an Opportunity might not happen for them, to take him at ſome Advantage, ſo he was always in ſuch a Condition, that nothing would be found, either about him, or any of his Servants, that

ſhould

ſhould give the leaſt Light into the Buſineſs he was entruſted with.

Likewiſe as to his Effects, he took ſuch effectual Courſes, that what-ever might be his Fate, his Poſterity ſhould be ſure to have acceſs to his Eſtate: As for the publick Treaſure with which he was entruſted, he held himſelf always ready to account for it, being the moſt punctual Man in the World in Keeping his Accounts compleatly made up, and in ſeparating his private from the publick Money; inſoſomuch, that at his Death he petitioned to have his Accounts inſpected, that his Succeſſors might not ſuffer by any wrong Charge brought againſt him for the publick Money.

It could not be, that he did all this by any prophetick Impulſe, or Fore-knowledge of what ſhould befal him, and the Manner in which it fell upon him, much leſs the Occaſion of it; for he could no way foreſee the ſudden and ſurprizing Fate of the King his Maſter; or that ever a Succeſſor of the Royal Blood, ſhould ſecure the Poſſeſſion of the Crown, at the Expence of its Prerogatives.

All the Cautions therefore which I ſpeak of, were the Effect of his moſt exquiſite Management of Affairs, and which were natural to Baron *Goertz*, in all the Courſe of his publick Employments; and which as it recommended him to ſome Powers, who coveted him as the beſt of Servants, ſo it rendred him the more obnoxious to others, who eſteem'd him for that Reaſon, the more dangerous Enemy.

Nor can I ſuppoſe, but that the juſt Character of his Capacity and Judgment in Publick Affairs, had a great Share in raiſing that Envy, and implacable Averſion to him, in ſome People in *Sweden*, which was the main Occaſion of his Death; for that we find very little in the Charge brought againſt him, as it has been publiſh'd to the World; *I ſay*, very little that could be thought ſufficient to bring a Perſon of his Character to the Block.

But Fate, and the Hurry of the Times concurr'd in his Fall; the Death of the King of *Sweden*, which happen'd

happen'd at the Attack of *Fredrickſall*, left him Friendleſs in the Hands of his utter Enemies: What Juſtice he found among them, will be better judg'd of, when the Particulars of his Proceſs, and of the Defence he made, ſhall be made Publick, which I am every Day expecting the Particulars of, with ſuch juſt Remarks, as, I am bid to expect, ſhall perhaps make it appear rather a cruel Mu——er, than a legal Execution of Juſtice upon a Criminal.

Certain it is, the *Baron* acted by the ſpecial Direction of the King, his Orders and Inſtructions receiv'd from His Majeſty's own Mouth; as on the one Hand they ſecur'd the Secret of his Commands, ſo on the other Hand having left the *Baron* without his Maſter's particular Miſſion in every Particular, and without written Orders, as the Means to juſtify himſelf in a judical Manner, they were Virtually the Cauſe of his Ruin; and this indeed, is intimated in that Sentence which he wrote for himſelf, and which ſome have publiſh'd, was written on his Coffin, though in Fact it was not ſo:

Mors Regis *fides* in Regem *Mors* Mea eſt.

It is certainly true, that his Dependance upon the King, ſo as to take his Majeſty's verbal Orders for his Commiſſion, in Matters of ſuch Importance, was the Cauſe of his Ruin; and was, as I may juſtly ſay, the falſeſt Step in all the Courſe of his Life; for it left him in Caſe of Mortality, *which was indeed his Caſe*, without Vouchers, and viſible Authorities for what he had done; though in Reality he had the Authority of the King's Command for it all, a Power legally ſufficient, and which in no other Caſe than the Death of the King, could have been call'd in Queſtion.

Thus as the *Baron* ſaid feelingly, when he was firſt ſeiz'd by the Government, that the Bullet that ſhot the King kill'd him alſo; for in the Loſs of his *Swediſh* Majeſty, he loſt his Protector, and loſt the Protection of the Laws of the Country, which in any other Caſe had been his Safety.

I come

I come now to the tragick Part of his Life; the *Baron* was in *Schonen*, on his Way from the Iſle of *Aland* to the King, with ſome Account of the Schemes which were ſettled with the *Muſcovite* Plenipotentiaries, to which he was to get the King's Approbation, and then to return to the Place of Congreſs.

The firſt News he receiv'd of the ſudden Death of the King, was by a Captain of the Prince of *Heſſe*'s Regiment, who firſt ſaluted him, by telling him, he was a Priſoner; at which the *Baron* in ſome Surprize demanding the King's Order for his Arreſt, was told, the King was no more; that he was kill'd in the Trenches before *Fredricksall*, and that he arreſted him by Order of the Prince; at which the *Baron*, aſtoniſh'd with the News, clapping his Hand on his Breaſt, ſaid no more than this, *Donc je ſuis L'homme Mort! Mon Dieu!* And ſat down in a deep Silence for ſome Minutes; when being call'd upon by the Officer to remove, he told them boldly, *He was ready, they might follow their Orders*; upon which he was carry'd away to the Town-Priſon of *Stockholm*.

The Uſage he met with here, the Treatment he had from the Canaile, or Mob, the common People of *Stockholm*, ſhould be beſt bury'd in Silence, were it not to ſhew the true Greatneſs of his Mind with which he bore it: Nothing dejected him; but he bore up with a compos'd Countenance, and a calmneſs of Soul, not to be eaſily deſcrib'd, much leſs imitated, againſt all the Indignities from thoſe without Doors, and Severities from thoſe within.

His Companion in the Miſery of his Circumſtances, was the Count *Vandernath*, a Perſon, who, however he might have more Things Criminal in the Charge againſt him; yet the common Fury not running ſo high againſt him, as againſt the *Baron*, was ſaid to have made his Eſcape at the Expence of Baron *Goertz*; having as it is ſaid, accus'd him of being the Original of ſome Orders which the Count executed after him, and of all the Schemes which he the ſaid Count purſu'd in the Adminiſtration of the publick Treaſure; be that how it will, we all ſee the Count is got

off, and the *Baron* alone left to ſuſtain the Fury of an enrag'd People.

It was on the laſt of *April*, N. S. that the *Baron* receiv'd Sentence of Death, after ſeveral Examinations; and after their over-ruling (as we call it) his Declaration, which he deliver'd with an awful Majeſty in his Voice, and a ſolemn, but chearful Gravity in his Countenance, importing as I am inform'd, his juſt Diſpoſition of the Matters with which he was entruſted, his having done nothing without the King's Majeſty's expreſs Orders; and that the Reſentment expreſs'd againſt him, was the coarſeſt Way they could chooſe to expreſs their Diſaffection to the late King's Adminiſtration, and to load his Memory with Reproach.

The Sentence imported the general Heads of his Charge, and was founded chiefly upon ſome Letters of the *Baron*'s, which he had written to the Count *Vandernath*, and which the Count, *ſome ſay*, to ſave himſelf, deliver'd up to the Senate; and being all put together (*God be prais'd for* Engliſh *Liberties*) would not, if I think right, have been ſufficient to hang a Dog in our Country: Conſiſting chiefly of Schemes, or *Ways* and *Means* for raiſing Money for the Publick Service, which in a Time of ſuch Extremities as *Sweden* had by the many Misfortunes of that Prince been reduc'd to, might perhaps pinch them harder than at any other Time; but yet were thought abſolutely Neceſſary to the King's preſent Service, who in puſhing the King of *Denmark*, while the *Baron* held the *Muſcovites* in Suſpence by a Treaty, had a natural and moſt rational View of reſtoring his Circumſtances by an advantageous Peace; and on that Account in Particular, the raiſing Money was a Thing ſo neceſſary, as would in any other Country ſeem to juſtify all the Hardſhips they had to complain of in that Matter: And as to the Arguments which in thoſe Letters he might make uſe of to urge the Continuance of the War, or the dangerous Enterprizes which he put the King upon, it is ſuppos'd to point at the Affair of *Great Britain*; the Detail of which, *viz.* How far he had, or had not

put

put the King upon it: How far it might have been a dangerous Enterprize, and how far not; and what the Arguments were which were made uſe of by the *Baron*, to perſuade the King to keep up the War, which it ſeems they acknowledge to be plauſible; all this might be made Publick, and perhaps may be, in Place convenient; but as they too nearly relate to the Affairs of *Great Britain*, where this Account is to appear, there are many Reaſons to ſay no more to them than this, That they ſeem to us to be very indifferent Articles on which to condemn a noble Perſon and Miniſter of State to Death; but the Flood was abroad, the Ferment was great, and nothing but the Blood of this great Man could appeaſe the Rage of an impoveriſh'd Nation, or perhaps recommend the new Government to the People; and ſo the Sentence was paſs'd, as I have ſaid, the laſt of *April*: The Particulars of the Sentence are as follows, *viz.*

The Sentence of the Royal Commiſſion againſt Baron *Goertz*, pronounc'd at *Stockholm*, the 11th of *February*, 1719, charge him as follows;

THAT, *whereas all the Endeavours of the ſaid* Baron, *ever ſince his Arrival in this Kingdom, have had no other Aim than to put the King in ill Terms with all his Subjects of this Kingdom, as well in General, as in Particular; and in a moſt deteſtable Manner repreſented them to the King of Glorious Memory, as diſaffected, remiſs and refactory, in contributing to the Welfare of the State, with other Expreſſions to their Prejudice, to the End that by alienating the King's Affections from his Senate, and his other Councils, and faithful Servants, he might exclude them from the Adminiſtration of the moſt important Affairs of the Kingdom, and ingroſs the ſame to himſelf, contrary to the Laws and Conſtitution of this Nation; and the better to obtain his own Ends, in which he accordingly ſucceeded, having contriv'd ſuch Projects as ſolely arriv'd at depriving the Subjects of all their ready Money, Bank Bills, Mortgages, Plate and Jewels, and all manner of valuable Effects; and after having thus ſtripp'd the Subjects of their Subſtance, he proceeded (as it*

plainly appears by his own Letters) to keep up the War by plauſible Arguments, put the King upon dangerous Enterprizes, and embroil the Kingdom.

Since, therefore it plainly appears, by what has been ſaid, without mentioning the Baron's *abominable Conduct in many other Affairs, which for certain Reaſons cannot be ſet forth: That he has been the crafty Author of all the Misfortunes and Inconveniencies the King has ſuffer'd; and for theſe Reaſons the Royal Commiſſion finds it juſt, and agreeable to the Laws, that* George Henry De Goertz *be beheaded under the Gallows, and his Body bury'd in the ſame Place by the Hangman, both as a juſt Puniſhment of his Crimes, and for an Example to other bad Counſellors and Diſturbers of the Kingdom: Done at* Stockolm, *the 11th of* February, 1719.

Sign'd on behalf of the Commiſſioners, By
Peter Ribbing, *Preſident.*
John Chriſtian Baker, *Secretary.*

Perſuant to this hard Sentence, the *Baron* was executed the 2d of *March:* He behav'd himſelf in the ſhort Interval, with the utmoſt Seriouſneſs and Devotion; but with all the Calmneſs of a Mind perfectly free from the Guilt of the hateful Crimes ſuggeſted: He had too much Senſe of the Fury of his Enemies, to expect any Mercy; and therefore made no Application to the Miniſters of State on that Account: One Petition he caus'd to be preſented to the Senate, which was rather a Requeſt for Juſtice, than a Petition for Mercy; and this was, that his Accounts might be immediately examin'd and ſtated, that he might diſcharge himſelf of his Adminiſtration of the Finances, that his Family might not be injur'd by the Demands of the State, which after he was gone, they might not be able to clear up: When he offer'd this Petition, he aſſur'd the Perſon who was charg'd with the Meſſage, that he was ready to make his faithful Diſcharge of the Publick Treaſure apparent, and to anſwer any Demands that could be made upon him; and therefore deſir'd nothing on that Score, but to have

have his Accounts be audited, in the moſt exact Manner; and that then ſince the States had diſpoſed of his Life, he was ready to ſubmit to their Sentence.

But this Requeſt, however reaſonable, could not be granted; but he receiv'd for Anſwer, that nothing of that Sentence could be alter'd; ſo the *Baron* had nothing to do but to prepare for Death.

Accordingly, on the ſecond, he was carry'd in his own Coach, attended by a Guard of three hundred Horſe, to the ordinary Place of Execution, where a Scaffold was erected for that Purpoſe: He was dreſs'd in a new Suit of black Velvet, and had over it a black Cloak, which at his going up the Scaffold he put off, and gave to one of his Servants: He had appear'd ſomething penſive and ſad in the Evening before, but was more chearful afterwards, and went to Bed and ſlept more than two Hours: In the Morning he retir'd for three Hours by himſelf alone, and then appear'd to the Company that attended, with a very eaſy Mind, ſaluted, and took leave of his Friends, with a perfect Compoſure; when the Miniſter appointed by the Government to attend him, came to him, he embrac'd him, and deſired he would pray with him, which he did.

When the Time was come that the Officer call'd for him, telling him that they were ready, he chearfully anſwer'd, that he was ready alſo, and with an undaunted Heart went out to go into the Coach; as he paſs'd the Streets, he preſerv'd the ſame paſſive Courage, look'd up to the Windows of ſuch Houſes as he knew, and ſaluted ſome of his Acquaintance as he paſs'd, who alſo ſaluted him again.

When he mounted the Scaffold, he deſir'd to ſpeak to the People, but was deny'd, or as they call it, deſir'd not to do it, but rather to think upon what was before him; yet neither did this daunt him, but with only a Smile he contemn'd the Cruelty of his Enemies, and calling his Servants to undreſs him, he prepar'd for the Block; a few Moments after which, giving the Executioner ſome Money, and

Notice

Notice to wait for a Sign, he laid down his Head, with the ſame undaunted Heart, and lying ſo about half a Minute, gave a Sign, and had his Head cut off at one Blow: So ended a Life, the moſt fear'd of his Enemies, and the moſt valued by thoſe that knew and employ'd him, of any Stateſman of this Age.

FINIS.